

Survey

Languages of Asia and Africa

Volume 3
Languages of South Asia

A guide

ii-viii, 1
30-41 Hindustani
48-71
113-125
196-209
220-221
230-231

G. A. Zograph 1982

Translated by G. L. Campbell

Acc. No. 161



Routledge & Kegan, Paul

London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley

Contents

This translation first published in 1982

by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd

39 Store Street, London, WC1E 7DD,

9 Park Street, Boston, Mass. 02108, USA,

296 Beaconsfield Parade, Middle Park,

Melbourne, 3206, Australia, and

Broadway House, Newtown Road,

Henley-on-Thames, Oxon RG9 1EN

Printed in Great Britain by

Theford Press Ltd, Theford, Norfolk

First published as Yazyki Indii, Pakistana, Tseliona i

Nepala by Oriental Publishing House, Moscow 1960

English translation © Routledge & Kegan Paul 1982

No part of this book may be reproduced in

any form without permission from the

publisher, except for the quotation of brief

passages in criticism

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Zograf, Georgii Aleksandrovich.

Languages of South Asia.

(Languages of Asia and Africa, v.3)

Translation of: Iazyki Indii, Pakistana, Tseliona i

Nepala.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Indic languages. I. Title. II. Series:

Languages of Asia and Africa (Routledge & Kegan

Paul) ; v.3.

PK1508.Z613 491'.1 82-474

ISBN 0-7100-0914-3 AACR2

PREFACE

1

INTRODUCTION

3

I The Languages of the Indo-European Family

7

1 THE INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES: HISTORY AND

CLASSIFICATION

9

Old Indo-Aryan

Middle Indo-Aryan

New Indo-Aryan

2 THE NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES: THE CENTRAL GROUP -

30 - 40

HINDI *Filed under "Hindustani"*

The 'Western Hindi' group of dialects

Khari Boli

Hariani

Brar Bhakha

Kanauji

Bundeli

The 'Eastern Hindi' group of dialects

Awadhi

Bagheli

Chattisgarhi

3	THE NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES: THE NORTH-WESTERN GROUP	48
	"Panjabi"	41-52
	"Lahnda"	52-55
	"Sindhi"	55-60
4	THE NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES: THE WESTERN GROUP	61
	Rajasthani	61-65
	Gujarati	65-70
5	THE NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES: THE SOUTHERN GROUP	71
	Marathi	
6	THE NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES: THE PAHARI GROUP	77
	Western Pahari	
	Central Pahari	
	Eastern Pahari, or Nepali	
7	THE NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES: THE EASTERN GROUP	85
	Bihari	
	Bhojpuri	
	Maithili	
	Magahi	
	Oriya	
	Bengali	
	Assamese	
8	SINHALESE	107
9	THE GIPSY LANGUAGE	111
10	THE DARDIC LANGUAGES	113-115
	Kashmiri	115-120

11	THE IRAQIAN LANGUAGES	121
	Afghan	121-123
	Baluchi	123-125
12	The Dravidian Languages	127
12	THE STRUCTURAL FEATURES AND THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES	129
13	THE SOUTHERN GROUP	137
	Tamil	
	Malayalam	
	Kannada	
	Kodagu	
	Toda and Kota	
14	THE SOUTH-WESTERN GROUP	146
15	THE SOUTH-EASTERN GROUP	149
	Telugu	
16	THE CENTRAL GROUP	153
	Parji-Kolami	
17	THE GONDWANA GROUP	156
	Gondi	
	Konda, Pengo, Manda	
	Kui and Kuvi	
18	THE NORTH-EASTERN GROUP	161
	Kurukh	
	Malto	
19	THE NORTH-WESTERN GROUP	164
	Brahui	

III The Austro-Asiatic Languages	167
20 THE MUNDA LANGUAGES	170
Classification of the Munda languages	
Structural features of the Munda languages	
21 THE NON-KHMER LANGUAGES	178
IV The Tibeto-Burman Languages	181
22 THE CLASSIFICATION AND CHARACTERISTIC	
STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE TIBETO-BURMAN	
LANGUAGES	183
INDEX OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS	191
TABLES OF INDIAN ALPHABETS	"Scnph" 197-209
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	210
Dordic p 220-221	
MAPS 1 Basic language groups and the most	
important languages of South Asia	"Wg" 230
2 The Dravidian languages of Central India	
and the Munda languages	231

Preface

This publication is the translation of a work entitled 'The Languages of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal' which was published in Moscow in 1960, forming part of the series 'Languages of Asia and Africa'. For this English edition, the text has been radically revised and brought up to date in accordance with the present-day linguistic and political situation in the sub-continent, and in the light of the advances made in Indian philology and linguistics over the last two decades.

The book sets out to provide a concise guide to the languages of India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Taken as a whole, these languages form an 'Indian linguistic area' to which attention was first drawn in 1956 by M.B. Emeneau - a concept which has aroused great and ever-increasing interest. The reader is introduced to the many different forms of speech found in the sub-continent; the general features of the main linguistic groups are described along with the special characteristics of their most important representatives, and details are given in each case of numbers of speakers and territorial distribution.

The book is based primarily on the materials provided in the 'Linguistic Survey of India', supplemented by data from more recent works. Statistics unqualified by date are those

The North Indian Languages: The Central Group — Hindi

Zagayph 1982

File under "Hindustani"

For the description of the North Indian languages we take as basis the grouping proposed by Chatterji, making, however, certain amendments thereto: in the first place, bearing in mind the contemporary linguistic situation, we include the Eastern dialects of Hindi (Grierson's 'Eastern Hindi') under the general heading of 'Hindi'; secondly, following Grierson, we take as a separate group the Pahari languages and dialects, and, finally, we change the order in which the various languages are considered, taking Hindi as our starting point, as the language best known beyond the confines of Southern Asia.

Numerically, the content of the Central Group of the Indo-Aryan languages has been very variously assessed by different researchers: Chatterji sees in it one language while Grierson enumerated six. Strictly speaking, the core of this group is represented not by languages at all, but by a number of closely related dialects — Braj, Kanaui and Bundeli, which together with Khari Boli and Haryana, can be lumped under the common title 'Western Hindi'. The last-mentioned two dialects which occupy the north-western corner of the area covered by Hindi, display a number of common features with Panjabi, which in its turn can be seen as a transitional dialect with the most typical representative of the North-Western group — Lahnda.

Closely connected with the dialects of the 'Western Hindi' group are Awadhi, Bagheli and Chattisgarhi, which come under the heading of 'Eastern Hindi'. Linguistically, these can be regarded as a transitional stage between the Central and the Eastern groups of languages. The 'intermediate' character of this group of dialects seems to have taken shape as far back as the Old Indo-Aryan period. The Middle Indo-Aryan forerunner of the contemporary Eastern Hindi dialects was the Ardhamagadhi Prakrit, which was a transitional form between Sauraseni and Magadhi; the present-day Central dialects go back to Sauraseni, while the languages of the Eastern group derive from Magadhi.

Understood in a wide sense, Hindi is often taken to include the dialects of Bihar — Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi — which also lie in the effective sphere of literary Hindi. These dialects, however, show significant structural similarities with the languages of the Eastern group, with which it is more convenient to consider them — bearing in mind, of course, their tendency towards rapprochement with the Hindi dialects. As for the Rajasthani and Pahari dialects, in spite of the influence exercised on them by literary Hindi, their independence is unmistakable.

THE 'WESTERN HINDI' GROUP OF DIALECTS

Those dialects grouped under the name of 'Western Hindi' — Khari Boli, Haryana, Braj Bhaṣā, Kanaui and Bundeli — are disseminated in the western part of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, the adjacent parts of Rajasthan, Delhi and the central part of Madhya Pradesh. They are spoken by more than 50 million people.

KHARI BOLĪ

Khari Bolī, Kauravi, or Vernacular Hindustānī, represents a group of dialects used in Uttar Pradesh, to the North-East of Delhi, and in the Ambala region of the Panjab. It was on the basis of this dialect that Hindustānī took shape, an inter-regional language widely used in the cities of Northern India and Pakistan, and one which in its written forms of literary Hindi and literary Urdu is the basic literary language of a region with a population of 230 million. Beyond the confines of this region, millions of people use this language either as their mother tongue or as a second language.

Dakhni, Rekhta, Urdu

Hindustani was first used for literary purposes at the Moslem courts of Southern India (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries). It was there that Dakhnī, a dialect form differing to some degree lexically and grammatically from Northern Hindustani, took shape. Dakhni displays certain features which are proper to the Western Hindi dialects, but which were not retained in the literary language of the North. In Northern India, Hindustani penetrated into court literature in the eighteenth century, as the medium of authors who were working under the influence of Persian literary traditions. The result was that Hindustani, for which even in Southern India the Persian script had been used, began to be very intensively saturated with lexical borrowings from Persian. The literary form of the language which emerged as a result of this process was initially called Rekhta, and subsequently, from the nineteenth century onwards, was known as Urdu. This is the State language of Pakistan (where it is used by up to 10 million people) and is also one of the most important literary languages of India, used prevalently among the urban population of

the North, and in Andhra Pradesh (over 28 million speakers). Urdu possesses a rich literature of both poetry and prose.

Literary Hindi

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, writers of the traditional Indian school began to turn their attention to Hindustani. As a script, they chose the Devanagari alphabet, and drew for vocabulary on Sanskrit, limiting their use of Iranianisms and Arabisms. Thus took shape a second literary form of Hindustani, differing from Urdu both in script and in vocabulary (especially as regards lexical items going beyond everyday needs). Such grammatical differences as exist between Hindi and Urdu are insignificant; they reduce to the use of separate borrowed forms which occur only in combination with genetically homogeneous lexical elements – and even this is mainly a characteristic of 'high style' writing. Not only as regards grammar but in their basic lexical core as well, Hindi and Urdu are virtually identical. Some differences may be noticed in syntax – Urdu permits rather more variation in the standard order of words in the sentence.

When speaking of Hindi, we have to remember that this term is used to mean two things: (1) Hindi as an aggregate of dialects (and sometimes in a wider sense, including neighbouring languages) and (2) Hindi as the State and most important literary language of India. The latter is usually called also High Hindi. Hindi literature is one of the most important in the sub-continent. The Hindi-speaking population of India is given in the 1971 census as 154 million.

'Bazaar Hindustani'

One variant of Hindustani, a jargon with a drastically simplified grammar and an extremely limited vocabulary is used as a

lingua franca in India by people of different nationalities who come to look for work in the big industrial and commercial centres. This is called 'Bazaar Hindustani'.

Phonology*

The vowels fall into two sub-classes: the short, or centralised - a / ə / , i / i / , u / u / , and the long, or peripheral - ā / a / , ī / i / , ū / u / , ē / e / , ai / æ / , o / o / , au / ɔ / ; parallel with these pure (non-nasalised) vowels is a complete set of nasalised vowels - ā / ă / etc. The short vowels are normally not found in word final position.

Consonants:

Pharyngeal	h
Velar	k, kh, g, gh, [ŋ]
Palatal	c, ch, j, jh, [ɲ], y
Cerebral (Retroflex)	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, [ɹ̥, ɹh], ṇ, [ɻ]
Dental	t, th, d, dh, n, nh, l, lh, r, s
Labial	p, ph, b, bh, m, mh, v

(In the literary pronunciation of borrowed words the following sounds are also found:

Uvular	q, x, ɢ
Dorsal	ʃ, z
Labial	f

Consonant clusters are not characteristic of Hindi itself, though they can be found in borrowed words, especially in those of Sanskrit origin.

* Phonological inventories are given in the traditional Indo-logical transcription, which is, strictly speaking, a transliteration. The IPA transcription, where necessary, is given in slanting brackets. Positional variants of phonemes are given in square brackets.

Morphology

The noun

There are two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers, three cases (direct or nominative, oblique or postpositional, vocative); each gender has two types of declension: the first ('thematic') type includes the nouns ending on a characteristic vowel (masc. -ā, fem. -ī), the second ('athematic') type comprises all other nouns; masculine nouns ending in -ā are more extensively inflected than others, changing their ending in the oblique and vocative singular, and the direct plural to -ē; feminine nouns in -ī change this to -ā in the direct plural; other feminine nouns take -ē; all nouns take -ō in the oblique plural, and -ō in the vocative plural; specific indirect case relations are expressed by means of analytical forms - by combination, that is, of the oblique case with the following primary (or 'simple') positions:

Dative and Accusative	kō
Instrumental, Sociative and Ablative	sē
Locative (Inessive)	mē
Locative (Supersessive)	par
Terminative	tak
Agentive or Ergative	nē
Adjectival*	kā (kī, ke)

With the latter in its ke, kī forms are combined the secondary (or 'compound') postpositions. Adjective in -ā agree with the word qualified in gender, number (in the masc. only) and case (in masc. sing. only).

* Forms with the postposition kā (or its correlatives in other NIA languages) behave like adjectives and are declined accordingly.

Pronouns

The basic forms of the pronouns are given in Table 1.

The indefinite pronouns: *koī* (oblique *kisī*) = someone,

anyone

kuch = something,

anything

The possessive pronouns: 1st person sing. *mērā*; plural

hamārā

2nd person sing. *tērā*; plural

tumhārā

The verb

The base for all derived forms is the root. The endings of the non-finite forms are as follows:

Infinitive

Gerundive

Imperfective (or present) participle

Perfective (or past) participle

Conjunctive (adverbial participle)

or absolutive

Nomen agentis

Inflectional finite forms:

(1) The old synthetic type is retained only in the

imperative (2nd person sing. identical with base; plural in

-ō) and in the present subjunctive

{personal endings: sing. 1st -ū, 2nd -ē, 3rd -ē

pl. 1st -e, 2nd -o, 3rd -e}

The simple future is formed by adding the endings, masc.

sing. -gā, pl. -gē, fem. -gī to these personal forms.

TABLE 1

Number	Case	Personal		Demonstratives		Relative	Correlative	Interrogatives	
		1st	2nd	this	that	which	he, who, that, which	who?	what?
Sing.	Direct	mai	tū	yah	vah	jō	sō	kaun	kyā
	Oblique	mujh	tujh	is	us	jis	tis	kis	kāhē
	Dat.-Acc.	mujhē	tujhē	isē	usē	jisē	tisē	kisē	
Plural	Direct	ham	tum	yah, yē	vah, vē	jō	sō	kaun	
	Oblique	ham	tum	in	un	jin	tin	kin	
	Dat.-Acc.	hame	tumhē	inhe	unhe	jinhe	tinhe	kinhe	

(2) Participial forms: the imperfective participle is used as a finite form of the past conditional, and also of the past habitual indicative; the perfective participle is used as the indefinite perfect (preterite); both of these participles are inflected for gender and number only (like adjectives, but the fem. pl. has *-ī*). Analytical forms are constructed by combining the imperfective and the perfective participles with the finite forms of the auxiliary verb (the copula) *hōnā* (= to be); in this way are constructed paired imperfective and perfective forms of the present and past indicative, and, similarly, of the subjunctive, the conditional and the presumptive (for the latter, the auxiliary verb is used in its future form). The forms of the auxiliary are set out in Table 2. We may include in this system of primary analytical forms their third series - that of the so-called duratives, constructed with the help of the same auxiliary verbs on the basis of an analytical formation which can be regarded as a 'durative participle' (the marker for this being provided by the perfective participle of the verb *rahnā* (= to remain), added to the base of the main verb). Analytical conjugation is further expanded by the use of the rather extensive group of 'secondary verbal auxiliaries' (or, 'semi-auxiliaries'), which either unite directly with the base of the main verb (thus forming the so-called compound verbs) or with its participial forms. A wide range of aspectual varieties of the action - potential, intensive, completive, inchoative, progressive, etc. - are expressed in this way. The passive forms are obtained analogously, by combining the perfective participle of the main verb with the finite forms of the auxiliary *jānā* (= to go). Causative verbs take the suffixes *-ā-*, *-vā-*.

TABLE 2

		Indicative				Subjunctive		Conditional	
Number	person	Present	Past		Future				
			M.	F.	M.	F.			
Sing.	1	hū	thā	thī	hūgā	hūgī	hō	hōtā	hotī
	2	hai			hōgā	hōgī	hō		
	3	hai			hōgā	hōgī	hō		
Plural	1	hāi	thē	thī	hōgē	hōgī	hō	hōtē	hotī
	2	hō			hōgē	hōgī	hō		
	3	hāi			hōgē	hōgī	hō		

Syntax

word order in the Hindustani sentence is usually as follows: temporal and locative modifiers, subject, indirect object, direct object, predicate; qualifier precedes qualified; absolutes and absolute constructions are widely used. Where the form of the predicate includes the perfective participle of a transitive verb, an ergative construction is used, which derives from the Old Indo-Aryan passive. In this construction the subject takes the postposition *nē* and the predicate agrees in gender and number with the direct object; if the latter is not presented in the sentence, or if it is marked by the postposition *ko*, the predicate retains the 'neutral' form of the masculine singular.

HARIANI

Hariānī, Jayū or Bāgarū is spoken in the state of Haryana. Neither phonologically nor morphologically does it differ much from Khari Boli (Hindustani) but in several features it is close to Panjabi (oblique plural of nouns in *-ā*; use of the postposition *nē* for the dative-accusative; imperfective participle ending in *-dā*; a variant of the verbal copula *su*, extant along with *hu*).

Khari Boli and Hariani differ from other dialects of the Western Hindi group in having a nominal and participial ending in the masc. sing. in *-ā*, which is also typical of Panjabi.

BRAJ BHAKHA

Braj Bhākha or Antarbedī extends over a large area in Uttar Pradesh to the South-East of Delhi, and spreads into the neighbouring regions of Rajasthan. It was the basic vehicle

for the rich body of Vishnuite (Krishnaite) lyric poetry written in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, Hindustani had completely ousted it from the literary arena. Braj Bhākha appears in several variant forms, one of which - that spoken in the region of Mathura, Aligarh and Agra - counts as standard. In the typically Western Hindi features it displays, it differs strikingly from Khari Boli, which has undergone more influence from the west. Its basic peculiarities are: a characteristic masc. nominal ending in *-au* (*-ō*); ending of the oblique plural in *-an*, *-ani* (together with *-ō*); endings of the imperfective participle in *-tu* or *-at*, and of the perfective participle in *-yau* or *-au*; the inflected forms of the present tense have not entirely lost their original indicative meanings, and combine these with subjunctive meanings; the future tense is formed either on the Khari Boli pattern (ending in *-gau*, *-gē*, *-gī*) or by adding the suffix *-ih-*, *-aih-* (< *Orā* *-sya-*) plus the endings of the present tense to the verbal base; the auxiliary verb (copula) in the past tense appears in the form *hō* or *hatō*, *huto*.

KANAUJI

Kanaujī closes off the Western Hindi area at its eastern end, in the regions of Farrukhabad and Cawnpore. In general it tallies with Braj. Where Braj has *-au*, the Kanauji ending is *-ō*, although substantives keep *-ā*; nouns which in Hindustani end in a consonant often have final *-u* in Kanauji.

In this dialect, a subject marked by the postposition *nē* may be used with a predicate containing the perfective participle of the intransitive verb.

The North Indian Languages: The North-Western Group

Zograph 1962
He under "Panjab",

The North-Western group comprises Sindhī, Lahndā and Panjabī. These languages show several specific traits both in phonology and in morphology (retention of geminated consonants; formation of the passive by means of the suffix -ī-, -ij- (< OIA -ya-); use of enclitic pronominal suffixes, etc.). These features are displayed most clearly in Sindhī and Lahnda, and partly in the dialectal forms of Panjabī. Literary Panjabī is rather close to Hindustani; it took shape as a result of prolonged interaction between the languages of two groups - the North-Western and the Central - with the latter finally proving the stronger.

PANJABI

Panjabī is widely spoken in the State of Panjab in India, and in the province of the same name in Pakistan. Its territory stretches from the Hissar-Ambala line in the east, where it blends with the Hindi dialects of Hariani and Khari Boli, to the country between the Ravi and the Chenab in the west, where it gradually merges into the Lahnda dialects. Since there is no precise linguistic frontier between Panjabī and Lahnda, and no census has differentiated between them, we can

do no more than guess at the number of speakers of either. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that the linguistic data obtained in the Pakistan census of 1972 were never published. Taking the figures given in ISI as a starting point, we may put the number of people using Panjabī as their mother tongue in 1971 at over 35 million (of whom 13.9 million were in India).

Panjabī has two basic dialects: standard, used by most Panjabī speakers (its sub-dialects are: Mājhī, Doabī, Pōwādhī, Rāphī, Mālwāī and Bhaṭṭiānī) and Dogri, which is spoken in the regions of Jammu and Kangra in the extreme north of the Panjabī area, and which is nowadays coming to be recognised as a separate language; it is sub-divided into Standard Dogri, Kanāḍiālī, Kāngri and Bhaṭeālī. The closest to the literary language is the Majhi sub-dialect which is used in the regions of Amritsar, Lahore and Gurdaspur.

Although the beginnings of Panjabī literature lie as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, its full development had to await the spread of Sikhism (sixteenth century). The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the production of heroic and lyric poetry; contemporary Panjabī writing covers the usual genres in both prose and verse.

Phonology

The specific feature of Panjabī is the presence of three phonemic tones affecting the stressed syllable:

- 1 The low tone (falling, or falling-rising) marked graphically by the pharyngeal h or by a voiced aspirate stop as syllable initial (in pronunciation, the h is lost, and the voiced aspirate is devoiced and de-aspirated):

ghoṛā / koṛa / = horse
baharī / bari / = broom

- 2 The high tone (high rising, or high rising-falling-rising) marked graphically by the unpronounced *h* or voiced aspirate (de-aspirated in pronunciation) following the vowel which bears the tone:

kōhṛī or kōṛhā / kōṛa / = leprous
cāh / cā́ / = tea

3 Level tone:

kōṛā / kōṛṽ / = whip
ca / cā́ / = wish

Thus, while retaining the same inventory of vowels which we find in Hindi, Panjabi differs in consonantism by lacking the voiced aspirates. There are also some peculiarities in the distribution of phonemes: thus, the long (geminated) consonants with a preceding short vowel, characteristic of the Prakrits, are retained (e.g. Panjabi *hāth*, cf. Hindi *hāth* = hand); initial *v* does not usually change into *b* (Panjabi *vicc*, cf. Hindi *bic* = between); intervocalic *OIA* *t* is partially retained:

kīā and kīṛā = done, did

Morphology

The noun

The characteristic ending of the masculine gender is *-ā*; the oblique plural has *-[i]ā*; all feminine nouns have one and the same type of declension; synthetic forms of the locative (sing. in *-ē*, pl. in *-ī*) and of the ablative (in *-ō*) are occasionally encountered. Postpositions: *dat.-acc. nu*, *instr. tē*, *abl. to*, *agent. nē*, *adject. dā, dī, dē* (etymologically related to Western Hindi *kā, kau*; this is the most obvious difference between the two languages). Declinable adjectives have oblique plural form in *-iā*, and irregularly also the forms of the vocative and locative cases.

Pronouns

The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons have no special agentive form and do not take the postposition *nē*, that is, their agentive does not differ from the nominative. The plural forms (1st person *aī*, 2nd person *tusī*, with possessive forms *[a]sāḍā* and *tusāḍā*) link up with the corresponding forms in Lahnda and Sindhi; it is worth mentioning the occasional dialectal use of pronominal suffixes - mainly *-us*, added to the 2nd person verb forms.

The verb

The endings of the non-finite forms are as follows: infinitive *-ṇā*, *-nā* (oblique *-aṇ*, *-an*); imperfective participle *-dā*, perfective participle *-iā* (but many verbs have an irregular formation here). The endings of the subjunctive are: sing.: 1st person *-ā*, 2nd person *-ē*, 3rd person *-ē*; plural: 1st person *-ā* (*-iē*), 2nd person *-ō*, 3rd person *-aṇ* (*-an*). The conjugation of the auxiliary (copula) is set out in Table 4:

TABLE 4

Person	Present		Past	
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1st	hā (ā)	hā (ā)	sā	sā
2nd	hāi (ē)	hō (ō)	sāi	sō, sau
3rd	hai (ē, ā)	han (nē, ā)	sī	san

Together with the usual analytical forms of the passive using *jāṇā*, Panjabi also makes occasional use of a synthetic passive formation with the suffix *-ī-* which is a characteristic of Lahnda: e.g.

ū māṛidā hai = he is beaten

last page find under "Lahnda"

Zograph 1982. He under "Lahnda"

A notable feature of the Panjabi vocabulary is the relatively small number of borrowings, especially as regards Sanskritisms, which here appear in a phonetically and orthographically modified (Ardhataṣama) form.

Doḡrī is close to Standard Panjabi. Its most individual trait is the oblique singular form for all types of nouns (the endings are: masc. -e, fem. -a, plural -ē).

In India, the Gurmukhi alphabet is used for Panjabi. It was created in the sixteenth century following the Devanagari model, on the basis of the very imperfect Landa script, which is still used today by local tradesmen in commercial documents (see Appendix, Table I). Devanagari itself is also used for Panjabi, if more rarely. In Pakistan, Panjabi is written in the Persian character, with the addition of the supplementary letters accepted in Urdu.

LAHNDĀ

Lahnda (Lahndī) or Western Panjabi is the name given to a group of dialects spread over the northern half of Pakistan. In the north, they come into contact with the Dardic languages with which they share some common features. In the east, they turn gradually into Panjabi, and in the south into Sindhi. In the south-east there is a clearly defined boundary between Lahnda and Rajasthani, and in the west a similarly well-marked boundary between it and the Iranian languages Baluchi and Pushtu. The number of people speaking Lahnda can only be guessed at: it is probably in excess of 20 million.

The Lahnda dialects fall into three groups: the Southern group which includes most Lahnda speakers lies to the south of the Salt Range (Shāhpūrī, Mūltānī, Sirāikī, etc.); the North-western (Hindko, etc.); and the North-eastern (Poṭhwārī, etc.). The Southern group provided the basis for a new

standard form of the language - Sirāikī - which has been coming into usage since the middle 1960s.

Phonology

Lahnda shares its main specific features with Panjabi. The long vowels ē and ō have short counterparts: e and o. Lahnda preserves the umlaut which is a relic of the phenomenon of vowel harmony found in Kashmiri: in the derived forms of a number of nouns the root vowel changes under the influence of regressive assimilation with a final vowel now lost: e.g.

vāhūṛ (< vāhāru) = steer

vāhīṛ (< vāhāri) = heifer

The root is vāhāṛ (where ā is the back rounded, and ā the front variant of the vowel ā). In southern dialects the 'implosive' (or injective - cf. Sindhi) consonants ḃ, ḣ, ḡ, which Lahnda shares with Sindhi are found; and the voiced aspirates lost in the north are here retained.

Morphology

The noun

Besides the direct and oblique (the latter being also the agentive) which are formed for both numbers as in Panjabi, there are other synthetic case forms with the following endings: loc. sing. -ē, pl. -ē, -ī; voc. sing. -ā, pl. -ao. The ablative endings -o, -ho are added not to the bare stem, but to forms of the oblique case. Worthy of particular attention is the declension of nouns ending in a consonant, which change their final vowel under the influence of the umlaut: direct sing. ṛuk (= end), oblique ṛāk, loc. ṛīk; direct pl. ṛak, oblique ṛīka, loc. ṛīki. Three types of declension of feminine nouns are distinguished,

Remains of the under 'Sindhi': "

according to the plural endings: -ā, -ī, -u. Adjectives in -ā agree with the word qualified in gender, number and case (direct and oblique).

Pronouns

1st person sing. mā, pl. aasī (hassī); 2nd person sing. tū, pl. tussī; 3rd (demonstratives) e, eh, o, oh. A special feature is the use of pronominal suffixes (enclitics) with both verbs and nouns; these act either as personal endings or as substitutes for the indirect case forms of the pronouns.

The verb

Endings of the non-finite forms: infinitive -un; imperative participle -endā; perfective participle -eā; absolute -ī, -kē; nomen agentis -anā, -neālā. In the present tense, the auxiliary (copula) is conjugated as in Panjabi; the forms of the past are: 1st person sing. āhus, āhis, 2nd person āhe, 3rd person āhā (fem. āhī); 1st person plural āhse, 2nd person āhe, 3rd person āhin (fem. āhiā or āhin); there is an inflected negative form. The following tenses are formed synthetically: the simple present (usually with subjunctive meaning), the future (with suffix in -s-), conditional (the simple present expanded by invariable -hā), imperative (2nd person plural -ō, -hō). The personal endings are set out in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Person	Simple present		Future	
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1st	-ā	-āh, -āhā	-esā	-sāhā, -sāh
2nd	-e	-ō	-ese	-eso
3rd	-e	-en	-esī	-esin

Zograph 1987. File under "Sindhi,"

The remaining tenses are formed analytically from the participles. Passive verbs take the suffix -ī-; causative take -ō-.

The Persian script is used for Lahnda, and also various forms of the Landa cursive (see Appendix, Table I).

SINDHI

Sindhi is the language of the province of Sind in Pakistan. To the south, the language spills over into the neighbouring regions of the Indian state of Gujarat. In 1971 about 8 million people spoke Sindhi in Pakistan, and 1.7 million in India (mainly immigrants from Pakistan and their descendants in the larger cities, especially those of Western India).

Sindhi has six dialects. A central position among these is taken up by Vicōlī, which is regarded as standard, and which provides the basis for the literary language. The northern dialect - Sirāikī - differs from standard form only in a few insignificant points of pronunciation. Lāsī is the dialect of Las Bela; Lārī is spoken in the lower reaches of the Indus. Tharēlī (in the Thar desert) is a transitional form tending towards Rajasthani; Kacchī (in Cutch) is close to Gujarati.

Sindhi literature, dating in the main from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is not extensive. At present there is increased literary activity in the language, not only in Pakistan but in India also (especially in Bombay).

Phonology

The inventory of vowels is similar to that of Hindi; noteworthy among the consonants is the series of so-called 'implosives' or 'recursives' (it may be more precise to class them as injectives): b /b'/, ḡ /d'/, ḡ /j'/, ḡ /g'/, which

are opposed to their plosive correlatives qualitatively (i.e. by the type of release) but not quantitatively, as mistakenly asserted in certain older descriptions of the language. The nasals $\tilde{n}/\eta/$ and $\tilde{n}/\eta/$ have phonemic status. A peculiarity of the distribution of phonemes in Sindhi is the retention in word final position of weakly pronounced short vowels, which however still retain a phonemic function. There is a tendency to replace dentals by cerebrals, and to insert the intrusive vowel i into consonant clusters.

Morphology

The noun

The masculine gender distinguishes three basic types of declension: two thematic (strong in $\bar{o}$, and weak in $\bar{u}$) and one athematic with several variants; there are two feminine declensions: see Table 6.

TABLE 6

Number	Case	Masc.		Fem.
Sing.	Direct	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{u}$	$\emptyset$
	Oblique	$\bar{e}$	$\bar{a}$	$\emptyset$, $\bar{a}$
	Vocative	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$	$\emptyset$
Plural	Direct	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$	$\emptyset$
	Oblique	$\bar{a}n[i]$	$\bar{a}n[i]$	$\bar{a}n[i]$, $\bar{a}n[i]$
	Vocative	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{o}$

The other synthetic cases are irregular (they are mostly used for the weak thematic masculine declension): abl. $\bar{a}$ (in the plural, combination of this ending with the oblique

case ending gives $\bar{a}n\bar{u}$; loc. $\bar{i}$, $\bar{e}$; instr. pl. $\bar{o}$. Postpositions: dat.-acc. khe , inessive me , superessive te (for all of these, there is a corresponding series of ablative correlatives: $kha = \text{from}$, $ma = \text{from}$, out of, $ta = \text{from (the surface of)}$, instr. sa ; adjectival jo (ja , ji , ju). The agentive has no postposition and coincides in form with the oblique. Adjectives agree with the noun qualified in gender, number and case (direct, oblique, vocative).

Pronouns

Personal: 1st person sing. ma , au , plural asi ; 2nd person sing. tu , plural $tavhi$ ($avhi$) etc.; 3rd person (demonstratives) hu , hi , ho ; reflexive $pana$. A particular feature of Sindhi is its system of pronominal enclitics, which is even richer in forms than the corresponding system of Lahnda (see Table 7).

The verb

Two types of conjugation are distinguished by characteristic vowel: Type I in $\bar{a}$ comprises intransitive and passive verbs; Type II in $\bar{i}$ transitive verbs, including causatives. The endings of the non-finite forms are: infinitive $\bar{anu}$, inu ; imperfective participle $\bar{ando}$, $\bar{indo}$; perfective participle $\bar{yo}$, $\bar{io}$, $\bar{o}$ (many verbs form this participle irregularly); there is a secondary - adjectival - form of the perfective participle ending in $\bar{yalu}$, $\bar{alu}$; gerundive $\bar{ano}$, $\bar{ino}$; absolutes (I) I $\bar{i}$, II $\bar{e}$, (2) $\bar{ije}$, $\bar{iji}$.

The following primary synthetic forms have been retained: the Imperative (endings: sing. I $\bar{u}$, II $\bar{i}$, pl. I $\bar{o}$, II $\bar{io}$, $\bar{yo}$); Optative (sing. $\bar{iji}$, $\bar{ija}$, pl. $\bar{ijo}$). The present subjunctive endings are set out in Table 8.

TABLE 7

Function	1st person		2nd person		3rd person	
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Agentive	-m[i], -ma	-si, -su	-i	-va	-i	-u
Objective	-m[i]	-u	-i, -i	-va	-s[i]	-n[i]
Possessive	-m[i]		-ahi, -i, -[h]e		-s[i]	-n[i]
					-[h]as[i]	

TABLE 8

Person	Conjugation I		Conjugation II	
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1st	-ā	-ū	-yā	-yū
2nd	-ī	-ō	-ī	-yo
3rd	-ē	-an[i]	-ē	-in[i], -in[i]

The present indicative is formed by the addition of the (fem. thi), pl. thā (fem. thiū) to the personal forms of the present subjunctive; the conditional is formed by adding the invariable hā to the same set of forms; and the past continuative by adding the invariable thē to the inflected forms of the preterite. The remaining tenses are formed from the participles, either by means of pronominal suffixes (the future from the imperfective participle, the preterite of intransitive verbs from the perfective participle, with which the preterite of transitive verbs is identical) or by means of auxiliary verbs. The pronominal suffixes are: sing. 1st person -s[i], 2nd -ē (fem. -ā); plural 1st person -si, -su, 2nd -ū (used only for masculine). Auxiliary verbs: (1) āhiya - present tense copula; (2) hānu (= to be) and (3) thiānu (= to become) are both conjugated in the present (according to Type I), future and past tenses. Much use is made of verbal compounds with the absolutive as their initial component. Passive verbs take the suffix -ij-, -j- (the characteristic form of the imperfective passive participle is in -ido); causative verbs take the suffix -ā- (-vā). The ergative construction in Sindhi differs from that in Hindi by the absence here of a postpositional marker for the subject.

Sindhi was originally written in the Landa cursive. For

last ¶ Filed with "Rajasthan"

printing purposes, both Devanagari and Gurmukhi are used, but preference is given to the Persian script as amplified by a considerable number of additional characters (see Appendix, Table IV); short vowels are indicated by means of the Arabic *harakāt*, with *tanwīn*, etc.

The North Indian Languages: The Western Group

'Zograph 1982

File under "Rajasthan,"

The Western group, including *Rājasthānī* and *Gujarātī* (and also, as dialects of the latter, *Bhīlī* and *Khāndesī* comprises languages occupying an intermediate position between the Central group on the one hand, and the North-Western and Southern groups on the other. Although nowadays they coincide in many features with the dialects of the Western Hindi group, it is possible to identify in *Rajasthani*, as in *Panjabī*, some points of similarity to *Sindhi* and *Lahnda*; while *Gujarati* shows certain affinities with *Marathi*. In addition, *Rajasthani* and *Gujarati* are rather close to each other - they become separate only in the NIA stage of development.

RAJASTHANI

Rājasthānī is represented by a group of dialects which are widespread in the state of *Rajasthan* and in the adjacent North-Western part of *Madhya Pradesh*. The number of people speaking *Rajasthani* must exceed 20 million, although the 1971 census gives only about half that figure (the other half being accounted in the census as *Hindi* speakers). The *Rajasthani* dialects, especially *Marwari*, are used also beyond the geographical limits of their basic area, since they are

spoken by Rajasthan traders and money-changers scattered over the whole of India. As a result of the prolonged period of feudal fragmentation of Rajasthan, which prevented the formation of a unified literary language, a large number of local sub-dialects were able to survive. About 20 of these can be regarded as independent forms of speech. However, the differences between them are not substantial, and they can be conveniently classified in four groups:

- 1 Marwārī - in the west: Mārwārī, Mēwārī, Bikānerī, Bāgrī, Thālī including more than half the population and covering up to two-thirds of the territory of Rajasthan.
 - 2 Eastern group: Jaipurī, Hārautī, Ajmerī.
 - 3 North-Eastern group: Mēwātī and Ahīrwārī, or Hīrwārī.
 - 4 Mālvi, in the North-Western part of Madhya Pradesh: Mālvi and Rājpurī, or Rājwārī.
- Isolated forms of Rajasthan speech are Nīmādi, the Southern form of Mālvi, which has been greatly influenced by the neighbouring dialects of Bhili and Khandesī, and also the mixed tribal dialects of Banjārī (or Labhānī), Kakērī and Bahrūpiā. Completely isolated in the extreme north of Pakistan and in Kashmir is Gujurī, which shows considerable similarity to Mewati and Mewari. The first two groups of dialects tend towards Gujarati, the second two groups towards Western Hindi (Mewati towards Braj, Ahirwati towards Bangaru, and Malvi towards Bundeli).

The Rajasthan dialects, especially Old Marwari (known as Diṅāl) have an interesting if little studied medieval literature consisting of heroic and religious verse.

Phonology

The inventory of phonemes is very much the same as in Hindi. In the western and southern dialects, common *IA* s gives *h*:

ch becomes *s*; *h* and the aspiration of stops weaken or disappear (*hāth* > *āt* = hand). There is a characteristic tendency (shared with Sindhi and Gujarati) towards cerebralisation of *l* (> *ḷ*) and *n* (> *ṇ*); this does not affect initial *l* and *n*, nor medial *l* and *n*, if these represent the *MA* geminates *ll* and *nn*. Tones have been detected in the dialects bordering on Panjabi.

Morphology

The noun

The characteristic masculine ending is *-ō*, with an oblique case in *-ā*, and an agentive in *-ai* or *-ē* (Malvi); in the plural, the direct is in *-ā*, with the oblique and the agentive in *-ā*; feminine nouns are not declined in the singular, and have the ending *-ā* (*-ī* + *-ā* = *-(i)ṃ*) throughout the plural. There is a synthetic form of the locative (ending in *-e*, *-ai*). In Mewati and Malvi, the agentive may also be expressed analytically, with the help of the postposition *nai*, *nē*. The adjectival postposition is *kō*, *kā*, *kī* (Mewati, Malvi, Jaipuri) or *rō*, *rā*, *rī* (Malvi, Marwari). Adjectives in *-ō* agree with the noun qualified in gender, number and all cases (including locative and agentive).

Pronouns

The bases for the direct and indirect cases of the personal pronouns differ from their Western Hindi counterparts: 1st {oblique *mha*}; 2nd person sing. *tu*, *thū* {oblique *ta*}, *thā* {oblique *tha*}; 3rd person sing. *he*, *mē* {oblique *me*}; 1st person plural there is a special inclusive form *āpa* = we (including the person addressed).

Left 2 pp Read under "Gujarati"

The verb

The endings of the non-finite forms are: infinitive (1) -ṇū, -ṇu, -ṇō and (2) -bo, -vo; imperfective participle -tō; perfective participle -yō (with attributive form in -yōṇō). The forms of the simple present (which function sometimes as the indicative, sometimes as the subjunctive) and the forms of the simple future (in Jaipuri and Marwari) take the endings shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Person	Simple present		Future	
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1st	-ū	-ā	-syū, -hu	-syā, ha
2nd	-ē, -ai	-ō	-sī, -hī	-syō, -hō
3rd	-ē, -ai	-ē, -ai (-ai)	-sī, -hī	-sī, -hī

The future can also be formed - as in Hindustani - from the simple present with the help of secondary endings, either declined (-gō, -gā, -gī in Mewati; -iō, -lā, -lī in Jaipuri) or undeclined (-gā in Malvi; -lā in Mewari).

The imperfective participle does not figure in the formation of the analytical form of the present tense; instead, the auxiliary is added to the above-mentioned conjugated forms of the simple present of the main verb. Only Malvi and, occasionally, Marwari use the common NIA analytical forms with the imperfective participle to make the imperfect tense; the other dialects use the verbal noun ending in -ai. The conjugation of the auxiliary in the present tense differs from its counterpart in Hindustani, in as much as the 1st person plural takes the ending -ā; this verb takes the forms hu (in Malvi and Marwari), su (in Mewati) and chu (in Jaipuri). In the past tense, the auxiliary takes regular

20 graph 1982. File under "Gujarati"

nominal endings (masc. sing. forms: hō, thō, sō, chō). Passive verbs are formed by means of the suffix -īj-.

Syntax

Where there is a subject in the agentive and a direct object governed by a postposition, the predicate may either keep the form of the masc. sing. (as in Hindi) or agree with the object (as in Gujarati).

Rajasthani is written in Devanagari and also in various forms of the Mahajani and Modi cursives (see Appendix, Tables I and II).

GUJARATI

Gujarati is spoken by 25.6 million people in the State of Gujarat in India. The language is noteworthy for its relative homogeneity, showing little dialectal or local variation. The literary standard is based on the dialect of the Baroda and Ahmadabad regions. Three basic dialectal variants from this standard are: the Southern (in Surat), the Northern (Patan) and Kāthiyawādi (Saurashtra); these have not been described in sufficient detail. Bhili and Khāndesi may also be regarded as groups of dialectal variation from Gujarati though they are also sometimes treated as separate languages. Under the name of Bhili are grouped the dialects of the mountain tribes of Bhil, situated in the region where the states of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh border on each other, and continuing on beyond the Aravalli mountain range to the heart of Rajasthan, almost to Ajmer. In addition to Bhili proper, there are here more than 20 less important sub-dialects, of which Māgdi is noteworthy as the one with the largest number of speakers (750 thousand in

1961). Altogether over 2.5 million people speak Bhili. The Bhili dialects, which are structurally an intermediate stage between Gujarati and Rajasthani, border on the Khandesī dialects (also known as *Ahīrāṇī* or *Phēḍ Gujarī*) which lie further to the south and which are so strongly influenced by Marathi that they were formerly regarded as dialects thereof. According to the figures given in ISI, Khandesī was then spoken by more than a million people; but in the last census it was claimed as mother tongue by only a little over 200,000 speakers (by 430,000 in 1961). It is worth pointing out, however, that in the preceding censuses as well most of the inhabitants of this region described themselves as speaking Bhili or Marathi.

Literary activity in Gujarati began in the fifteenth century. Up to the nineteenth century this consisted - as in other NIA languages - entirely of poetry, and produced a number of well-known names. After a temporary decline in the nineteenth century, Gujarati literature took on a fresh lease of life, and the last few decades have witnessed creative activity in the usual genres. There is no literature to speak of in either Bhili or Khandesī.

Phonology

Vowel length is not phonemic. The inventory of vowels corresponds to the peripheral set of those in Hindi plus a /ɔ:/; /i/ and /u/ are each represented by two graphemes (i and ī; u and ū) which are often freely interchangeable; on the other hand, two pairs of phonemes /e/ - /ɛ/ (ē) and /o/ - /ɔ/ (ō) are not distinguished in writing. The pure vowels (except /e/ and /o/) have nasalised counterparts. A series of vowels with an element of aspiration (murmur), of

the type /b̥ər/ *bahār* (= outside), should also be mentioned. All the vowels appear in short and long phonetic variants (the long in final position). There is a tendency towards centralisation of dental consonants: ṇ /ɳ/ and ɳ /ʈ/ have phonemic value. The historical change of the NIA geminated consonants to the NIA single consonants (with lengthening of the preceding vowel) is more consistently carried through than in Western Hindi: thus, Hindi *makkhan* becomes Gujarati *mākhan* (= butter). Metathesis is frequent: *ṭipvū* instead of *ṭipvu*; *nuskān* instead of *nukṣān*.

Morphology

The noun

In contra-distinction to Hindi and the North-Western group of NIA languages, Gujarati - like Marathi - has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter. Characteristic endings are: masc. -ō (oblique sing., and direct and oblique pl. -ā), neuter -ū (oblique sing. -ā, pl. -ā), fem. -ī. There is a synthetic locative in -ē (this same affix, -ē, with an agentive or instrumental meaning, is added either to the base, as in the locative case, or to the oblique case form). The agglutinative plural affix -ō is uniform for all types of nouns; this affix may also combine redundantly with the inflected plural of masculine and neuter nouns: -ā-ō, -ā-ō. The postpositions are: dat.-acc. *nē*, abl. *thī*, loc. *mā*, adjectival *nō* (nā), *nū* (nā), *nī*. Adjectives in -ō (masc.) agree with the noun qualified in gender, number and case.

Syntax

After a subject in the agentive, the predicate agrees with the direct object, even when the latter is marked by a dat.-acc. postposition.

For writing Gujarati, a special script is used, which is rather close to Kaithi (see Appendix, Table II). Gujarati can also be written in Devanagari.

The North Indian Languages: The Southern Group

MARATHI

The Southern group is represented by Marāṭhī, which is spoken by 41.7 million people in the State of Maharashtra. In the coastal strip of the extreme south of the State, and in the territory of Goa, Marathi blends with kōṇkaṇī, which is spoken by 1.5 million people, and which is often regarded as a dialect of Marathi. In the east, the boundaries between Marathi and Oriya and the Eastern Hindi dialects are imprecise, while in the east and south the Marathi dialects spill over in part into non-Marathi linguistic territory. ISI distinguishes three groups of Marathi dialects, which do not differ very much from each other:

- 1 Deśī which occupies a central position and is regarded as the standard form of the language.
- 2 Standard Kōṇkaṇī in the coastal strip.
- 3 Eastern (Varhāḍī and Nāgpurī).

Halbī, in the extreme east, is a transitional form between Marathi and Eastern Hindi (Chattisgarhi). In the 1960s, a new survey of Marathi dialects was undertaken but is not completed yet.

Marathi possesses one of the most highly developed of the modern Indian literatures. Traditional poetry dates from

ko[n] (= who?), so (= what?). While the verbal system has lost most of the inflectional forms, traces of the imperative participial affix -ind- can be identified; the past tense is formed from the base of the perfective participle (affix -d-, -l-, -in-) plus secondary personal endings, in a way similar to the Marathi preterite.

The term 'gipsy' is also used for certain tribal and caste argots used on Indian territory, which are not directly related to the Gipsy dialects outside India.

The Dardic Languages

Zograph 1982 "Dardic"

Under the term 'Dardic', Grierson grouped a number of Indo-Iranian languages spoken in the extreme north of India and Pakistan and spreading into neighbouring Afghanistan, which show both IA and Iranian characteristics. Grierson's thesis was that these languages separated from the Iranian group after the main division of the Indo-Iranian branch of IE into Indo-Aryan on the one hand, and Iranian on the other.

According to Grierson, they were brought into Kafiristan and Dardistan from the North-West, considerably later than the Indo-Aryan invasion of North India. From this point of view, the Dardic languages would represent a transitional stage between the Iranian and the Indo-Aryan languages. Grierson distinguished three groups:

- 1 Kāfir, comprising Kālī (Bashgailī), Vaigalī, Prasun (Vasī-Verī, Veron), Ashkun, and the sub-group Kalāsha-Pashai (Kalāsha, Gawar-Batī, Pashai, Tirānī).
- 2 Khōwār.
- 3 Dard proper (or, Eastern Dardic) including Kashmirī, Sioā and Kōhistanī (under which name are grouped the following closely related languages and dialects: Baskārik, Garwī, Torwālī, Maiyā).

This classification is still the accepted one, though later

specialist research in the field has led to certain amendments to it. In particular, it is now agreed that Kalasha-Pashai and Khowar should be taken together as the Central Dardic group. In the south of Chitral, G. Morgenstierne discovered Pratiya, an Eastern Dardic language spoken by about a thousand people, which has affiliations with ṣiṇā, and Dameli situated on the frontier between Central Dardic and the Kafir languages, and representing a transitional stage between the two.

Whether a special Dardic sub-division or 'family' should be recognised at all is open to some doubt. Thus, Morgenstierne himself, while regarding the Kafir languages as a transitional stage between Indo-Aryan and Iranian, took the other 'Dardic' languages to be purely Indo-Aryan. In his opinion, all the Indo-Aryan elements in them can be derived from Old Indo-Aryan, and there is no need to look for a more archaic stage in order to account for them. Morgenstierne's thesis is that these languages were brought into Kafiristan and Chitral by Aryan immigrants from the south and that there is insufficient evidence for the claim that they came directly from the north-west by way of the Hindu-Kush. J. Bloch shared this viewpoint, and R.L. Turner in his 'Comparative Dictionary' treats all the Dardic languages, including the Kafir languages, as Indo-Aryan.

Certainly, the Dardic languages proper have much more in common with Indo-Aryan than with Iranian. However, the total absence of written evidence for the past history of any of the Dardic languages apart from Kashmiri, and the great number of dialects (typical of languages spoken in mountainous areas) make it very difficult to reach any definite conclusions on their genealogy. Kashmiri shows most similarity with neighbouring NIA languages, particularly with the Pahari dialects

and Ladakhi. In Grierson's opinion, this similarity was due to the relatively late interaction between the two sets of languages, and he regarded ṣiṇā as the purest representative of the Dardic group. When all is said and done, however, the Dardic languages, including Kashmiri, are structurally sufficiently idiosyncratic to warrant their separate classification from the NIA languages we have been considering.

The Kafir and most of the Central Dardic languages are situated in the north-western regions of Afghanistan. To the region covered by the present survey belong the languages of the Eastern Dardic group (Kashmiri and ṣiṇā in the state of Jammu and Kashmir; Kohistani, distributed along the rivers Swat, Panjkora and Indus in Pakistan) and also Khowar and Dameli (on the river Chitral in Pakistan). Data on the numbers of speakers of these languages are not regularly given in the censuses (except in the case of Kashmiri) and even when they are given they are usually contradictory. The figures available are: Kashmiri - 2.4 million (1971), ṣiṇā - 70,000 (1931), Kohistani - 67,000 (1951), Khowar - 95,000 (1951), the Kafir languages on Pakistan territory - about 3,000 (1951).

KASHMIRI

Kāśmīrī, which is spoken by more than 2.4 million people, is the official language of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. As well as 'Kashmiri proper' or Kōśīr, which provides the basis for the literary standard, there are the following dialects: Kashtawarī (in the Kashtawar valley), Pogulī and Sitrujī (transitional stages towards Western Pahari) and Rāmbanī (tending towards Dogri). Both lexically and grammatically, modern Kashmiri shows signs of having been considerably influenced by Urdu (especially as regards analytical constructions).

Kashmiri is the only Dardic language which has a written literature; its beginnings go back to the thirteenth century. Modern Kashmiri poetry is of interest, and prose writing is also making progress.

Phonology

Its inventory of phonemes differentiates Kashmiri sharply from the NIA languages. The most recent descriptions of the language enumerate seven short vowels: /i/, /e/, /a/, /ɔ/, /ɛ/, /o/, /u/ and their seven long correlatives. Characteristic of the language are the unrounded central retracted vowels /ɛ/, /ɛ:/ and /ɔ/, /ɔ:/; and according to another interpretation of the system, the front vowels (i, i:, e, e:) are to be regarded as the positional (i.e. following palatalised and palatal consonants) variants of these central vowels, in which case the number of vowel phonemes would be reduced from 14 to 10. Nasalisation is non-phonemic. The consonants are divided into the same five series by place of articulation as in Hindi, but along with the palatal affricates Kashmiri also possesses dental affricates: /c/, /c'/, (/ʃ/ > /z/). The homogeneous stops form triads, not tetrads, since the Dardic languages lack the fourth - the voiced aspirate-member. Nasal /m/ and /n/ are present, as are the sibilants /s/, /z/ and /ʃ/, liquid /l/, rolled /r/ and pharyngeal /h/. The inventory of Kashmiri consonants is substantially enriched owing to distinctive features of palatalisation (irrelevant for the palatal affricates, /ʃ/ and /y/) and of labialisation (irrelevant for the labials and /y/); as a result three consonantal series are present: pure, palatalised and labialised.

Vowel harmony and unilaut are evident in Kashmiri; as we have seen, traces of both are also found in Lahnda and Western

Pahari (Grierson called this phenomenon 'epenthesis'). Unlike the vowel harmony found in Turkic languages, which is based on progressive assimilation and hence particularly marked in the modulation of affixes, the vowel harmony of Kashmiri is based on regressive assimilation; this means that the root vowel changes under the influence of the vowel component of the affix. This holds good even when the affix vowel is one of the ultra-short vowels (historically present but not now pronounced) traditionally known as 'matra'.^{*} Assimilation has a partial character and consists in a raising or rounding of root vowels. Regressive assimilation is also reflected in the consonants of the root: under the influence of front vowels, consonants preceding these are palatalised, and not infrequently an alternation of certain stops and fricatives with the corresponding affricates can be observed (mostly in the formation of the feminine); back vowels may bring about the labialisation of consonants.

Morphology

The noun

There are two basic types of declension for masculine nouns, and two for feminine nouns. The characteristic masculine declension is that in which historically there was a labialised consonant (orthographically - nouns in -u, pl. -i; phonetically, this type is marked by the epenthetic gradation of the root, and occasionally by the labialisation of the consonant preceding such a vowel); the characteristic feminine type includes those nouns ending on a palatalised conso-

^{*} In the section on Morphology below, we shall indicate these in Grierson's notation - i.e. raised above the print line.

nant (orthographically - in ^u, pl. -o/i): in contrast to these are the athematic declensions (in ^ø, fem. pl. -a). The endings of the synthetic indirect cases are: dat.-acc. masc. -is, -as, fem. -o, -i (masc. and fem. pl. -en, -an); instr.-abl. masc. -i, -a, fem. -i (masc. and fem. pl. -au); agent. masc. -i, -an (in fem. and pl. coincides with instr.-abl.). Postpositions: adjectival ^{hond} (added to the dat.-acc. case), ^{uk}, ^{un} (added to the instr.-abl. case); additive ^{kyut} (added to dat.-acc. case) etc. The indefinite marker (for direct sing.) is -ā, -āh. Adjectives agree with the word qualified in gender, number and case.

Pronouns

Personal: 1st sing. ^{boh} (in indirect cases ^{me}), pl. ^{as} (ase); 2nd sing. ^{ts^h} (^{tsē}), pl. ^{toh} (^{tohe}). The demonstratives indicate five degrees of remoteness: I ^{yih} (oblique base ^{yim}) and II ^{yih} (fem. ^{noh}, oblique base ^{nom}) (= this); III ^{huh} (fem. ^{hoh}, oblique base ^{hum}) and IV oblique base ^{am} (= that); V ^{sub} (fem. ^{soh}, ^{sa}, oblique base ^{tam}) (= that) (beyond range of vision). Pronominal suffixes are used (only with verbs): subject, sing. 1st person -s, 2nd person -kh; agent. and object 1st person -m, 2nd person -th (-y), 3rd person -n; address: 1st person -m, 2nd person -y, 3rd person -s; pl. 2nd person -wa, 3rd person -kh.

The verb

The endings of the non-finite forms: infinitive -un; gerundive -un^u; present participle -ān; absolutive -ith (negative -anay). Four types of past participle are disting-

wished: I in ^u (recent past); II in -yov (common past); III in -yav, and IV in -iyāv (remote past); these are used only in the formation of the past tense. Perfective participles which appear both in composite verbal forms and as attributives, are formed from these past participles by the addition of the inflected particle -mot^u. Of the primary synthetic forms have survived only the present-future tense, which serves as both the indicative and the subjunctive (endings: sing. 1st person -a, 2nd person -akh, 3rd person -i; plural 1st person -aw, 2nd person -iw, 3rd person -an) and the imperative (of which neutral, polite and continuous forms are distinguished). From the invariable present participle are formed the present tense, the past imperfect, the future continuous, the durative forms of the imperative and of the past conditional. The tense forms of the recent past, the common past and the remote past are formed from the corresponding past participles. Here, three types of conjugation are distinguished: the first, comprising transitive verbs, requires the subject to be in the agentive case; the participle agrees in gender and number with the direct object (as in Hindustani) and may take the pronominal suffixes of the agent (regardless of the presence of a subject expressed by a pronoun); the second and third comprise intransitive verbs, and here pronominal suffixes (of the subject in the direct case) are obligatory; a peculiarity of the third type lies in the form of the participle: participle II is used for the recent past, participle III for the common past, and participle IV for the remote past. The perfect indicative, the perfect conditional and the pluperfect are formed analytically from the perfect participles (in the case of transitive verbs, the auxiliary may take the pronominal suffixes). The auxiliary verb and the copula have the

last of ^{hēd} w/ ^{ʔashb}

following forms in the present tense: 1st person *chus*, etc.; the remaining tense forms are made from the root *as-*. The passive forms are formed analytically by combining the infinitive in the instr.-abl. case (ending in *-ana*) with the auxiliary verb *yun* ' (= to come)'. The suffix of causative verbs is *-anaw-*. Composite verbal formations follow the customary NIA pattern. Because of the great number of phonetic alternations in roots due to vowel harmony and unlaut, both declension and conjugation are full of irregularities.

Syntax

The normal order of words in the sentence differs from NIA in that SVO is prevalent in Kashmiri. Thus, the copula precedes the nominal part of the predicate, and in certain analytical forms the auxiliary may precede the main verb. The qualifier precedes the qualified. The special features of the ergative construction have already been mentioned.

Kashmiri shares with Urdu the same variant of the Persian script, making extensive use of superlinear and sublinear signs. In addition, there is the old local form of writing known as Sharada, which also employs a number of additional signs to indicate the peculiarities of Kashmiri pronunciation. For the Kāstāwari dialect, a variant of the Takari cursive is in use (see Appendix, Tables I, II, IV).

The Iranian Languages

Zograph 1982 "Pakhto"

Two languages belonging to the Iranian branch of the IE family are spoken in Pakistan - Afghan and Baluchi. Since these languages are not specifically South Asiatic, and are in any case fairly well known, they need not be discussed here in any great detail. It will suffice if we draw attention to some of their characteristic structural features, particularly those which appear to bear out D.I. Edelman's hypothesis of an Indo-Iranian linguistic continuum.

AFGHAN

Afghan (Pakhto, Pashto or Pushtu) is spoken, outside of Afghanistan, by the Afghans (Pathans) who live in the North-West Frontier province of Pakistan, where it was, in 1961, the language of 6.8 million people. The numerous dialects fall into two branches - the Western and the Eastern (or, Peshawari). It is the latter branch that is represented on Pakistani territory.

Phonology

Vowels: i, e, a, ɔ, ā (a), o, u; neither length nor nasalisation are phonemic. The consonants fall into the same

five main series by place of articulation as the neighbouring NIA languages (the presence of the cerebral series is noteworthy), but there is no contrast here between aspirates and non-aspirates. Palatal (/c/, /j/) and dental (/c/, /ʃ/) affricates are distinguished.

Morphology

The noun

Several types of inflection are found. There are two genders (masc. and fem.), two numbers and two basic cases: direct and oblique (affixes -e, -i, Ø etc.; pl. -o; some nouns have a vocative form in -a, -i). Adjectives are inflected for gender, number and case.

Pronouns

Personal: 1st person *zə* (oblique *mā*), pl. *mug*; 2nd person *tə* (tā), pl. *tāsi*; 3rd person *haya*. There are pronominal enclitics: 1st person -mi, 2nd person -di, 3rd person -ye.

The verb

As in the other Iranian languages the verbal bases differ for the present and past tense. The simple forms of the present and the past are formed from these bases by addition of the personal endings: 1st person sing. -ām, 2nd person -e, 3rd person -i (present), -ai, -a (masc. and fem. past); 1st person pl. -u, 2nd person -ai, 3rd person -i (present), -ai, -ale (past). The imperative is formed from the present tense base by the ending -a. A future sense is expressed by prefixing the particle *bə* (not necessarily contiguous to the verb itself) to the present forms;

used with the past forms, the same particle gives an iterative meaning. The perfective aspect is denoted by means of the prefix *vu-*. The passive is constructed analytically with the help of the auxiliary verbs *kedai* or *švai* (= to become), added to the infinitive or to the past participle.

Syntax

The normal order of words is SOV. The qualifier precedes the qualified. Government of nouns is by prepositions and postpositions which are often used simultaneously to encapsulate a nominal phrase 'in a frame'. The ergative construction is used where the predicate is expressed by the past tense of transitive verbs; the subject is then put in the oblique case, and the verb agrees with the object.

Afghan is written in the Persian script, amplified by several new characters (see Appendix, Table IV).

BALUCHI

Balūči is spoken by the Baluchis who live mainly in the province of Baluchistan in Pakistan. In 1961 the number of Baluchi speakers on Pakistani territory was about 1 million people. Two groups of Baluchi dialects separated by the Dravidian language Brahui are distinguished: the Western (in the South-west of Baluchistan) and the Eastern (in the North-East of the province, and in the neighbouring regions of the Panjab). Baluchi has no written literature but is rich in folklore - especially the heroic epic.

Phonology

Short (i, a, u) and long (ī, ē, ā, ō, ū) vowels are distinguished. The retroflex (cerebral) consonants are

especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects which also, in contradistinction to the Western dialects, possess aspirants; these dialects also have the uvular fricatives χ and ψ (corresponding to Western g) and the bifocals $\dot{s}$ and $\dot{z}$.

Morphology

The noun

Gender is not grammatically distinguished. The plural marker $\bar{a}n$ is mainly used in the indirect cases. The three basic cases are: direct, objective (ending $\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}r$) and genitive (Western $\bar{a}$, Eastern $\bar{e}$; pl. $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$). The postpositional indefinite marker $\bar{e}$ precedes the case ending. Adjectives have a predicative form (identical with the root) and an attributive (invariable ending $\bar{e}n$). The comparative degree is expressed by the suffix $\bar{t}ir$ (Western), $\bar{t}hir$, $\bar{t}har$ (Eastern).

Pronouns

Personal: 1st person man (Eastern also ma), pl. $m\bar{a}$; 2nd person ta , tau (Eastern tha , $th\bar{o}$), pl. $\dot{s}um\bar{a}$, $\dot{s}ma$ ($\dot{s}aw\bar{a}$, $\dot{s}\bar{a}$). Demonstratives: $\bar{e}$, $\bar{e}s$, pl. $\bar{e}$ (Eastern $\bar{e}s$), $\bar{e}s\bar{a}n$ (= this); $\bar{a}$ (Eastern $\bar{a}n$), pl. $\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}y\bar{a}n$, $\bar{a}h\bar{a}n$ (Eastern $\bar{a}n$, $\bar{a}h\bar{a}r$) (= that). There are pronominal enclitics, used mainly in the 3rd person (sing. $\bar{i}$, pl. $\bar{i}s$, Eastern also $\bar{a}n$).

The verb

Present and past bases are distinguished. The tense forms are made by adding to these bases the personal endings and certain prefixes: $ak-$ for the present-future and the past continuous; $bi-$, $b-$ for the aorist, the imperative and the

unreal conditional. The analytical forms are made with the help of the auxiliary (copula) $ast-$ ($asth-$) which appears both in its full form and in a shortened (enclitic) form and is combined with the infinitive (continuous tenses) and with the past participle (perfect and pluperfect). In the Western dialects, the passive is analytical (the infinitive together with the auxiliary verb $bayag$ (= to be)) while in the Eastern dialects a synthetic form is also found (the present base plus the NTA suffix $\bar{i}j-$ and the personal endings).

Syntax

Together with SOV word order, SVO is also found. Qualifier precedes qualified. Government is by pre- and postposition, as in Afghan. The ergative construction is used with predicates involving the past base of transitive verbs; in these circumstances, in Western dialects, the predicate agrees with the object, while in Eastern dialects it may remain neutral or agree with the subject which is put into the indirect case (in $\bar{a}$, pl. $\bar{a}n$).

Baluchi is written in the same variety of the Persian script as Urdu.

Garusinhge, D., 'Sinhalese, the Spoken Idiom'. München, 1962.
Geiger, W., 'Beiträge zur singhalesischen Sprachgeschichte'. München, 1942.

Geiger, W., 'A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language'. Colombo, 1938.

Geiger, W., 'Literatur und Sprache der Singalesen'. Strassburg, 1900.

Matzel, K., 'Einführung in die singhalesische Sprache'. Wiesbaden, 1966.

Vykhukholev, V.V., 'Singal'skii yazyk'. Moscow, 1964.

The Gipsy language

Turner, R.L., 'The Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan'. Edinburgh, 1927 (Gypsy Lore Society. Monographs. No. 4).

For a resume of general information on the Gypsy dialects, and a basic bibliography, see: Ventsel', T.B. and Cherenkov, L.N., *Dialekty Tsyganskogo yazyka*, in 'Yazyki Azii i Afriki', Vol. I. Moscow, 1976.

IV THE DARDIC LANGUAGES

Bailey, T.G., 'The Pronunciation of Kashmiri'. London, 1937.

Bailey, T.G., 'Grammar of the Sina (Sina) Language'. London, 1924.

Buddruss, G., 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Pasai-Dialekte'. Wiesbaden, 1959.

Edel'man, D.I., 'Dardskie yazyki'. Moscow, 1965.

Fussman, G., 'Atlas linguistique des parlers dardes et kafirs'. Vols I-II. Paris, 1972.

Grierson, G.A., 'Torwali. An Account of a Dardic Language of the Swat Kohistan'. London, 1929.

Grierson, G.A., 'A Manual of the Kashmiri Language'. Vols I-II. Oxford, 1911.

22099 1982 "Dardic"

Kachru, B.B., 'A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri'. Urbana, 1969.

Morgenstierne, G., 'Report on a Linguistic Mission to Northwestern India'. Oslo, 1932.

Morgenstierne, G., 'Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages'. Vols I-IV. Oslo, 1973-4.

Morgenstierne, G., 'Irano-Dardica'. Wiesbaden, 1973.

Morgenstierne, G., 'Notes on Phalura, an Unknown Dardic Language of Chitral'. Oslo, 1941.

O'Brien, E., 'Grammar and Vocabulary of the Khovar Dialect'. (Chitral) Lahore, 1895.

Zakharyin, B.A., 'Problemy fonologii yazyka Kashmiri'. Moscow, 1974.

Zakharyin, B.A. and Edel'man, D.I., 'Yazyk Kashmiri'. Moscow, 1971.

V THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES

Dames, M.L., 'A Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language'. Calcutta, 1881.

Dvoryankov, N.A., 'Yazyk pushtu'. Moscow, 1960.

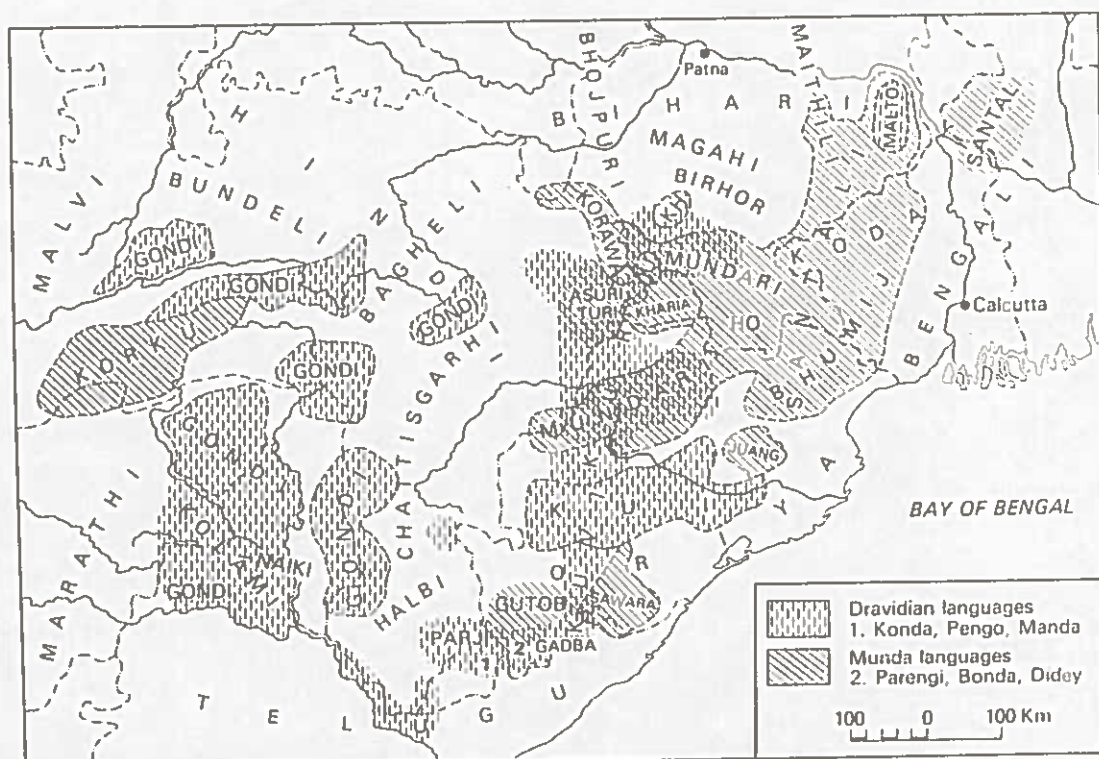
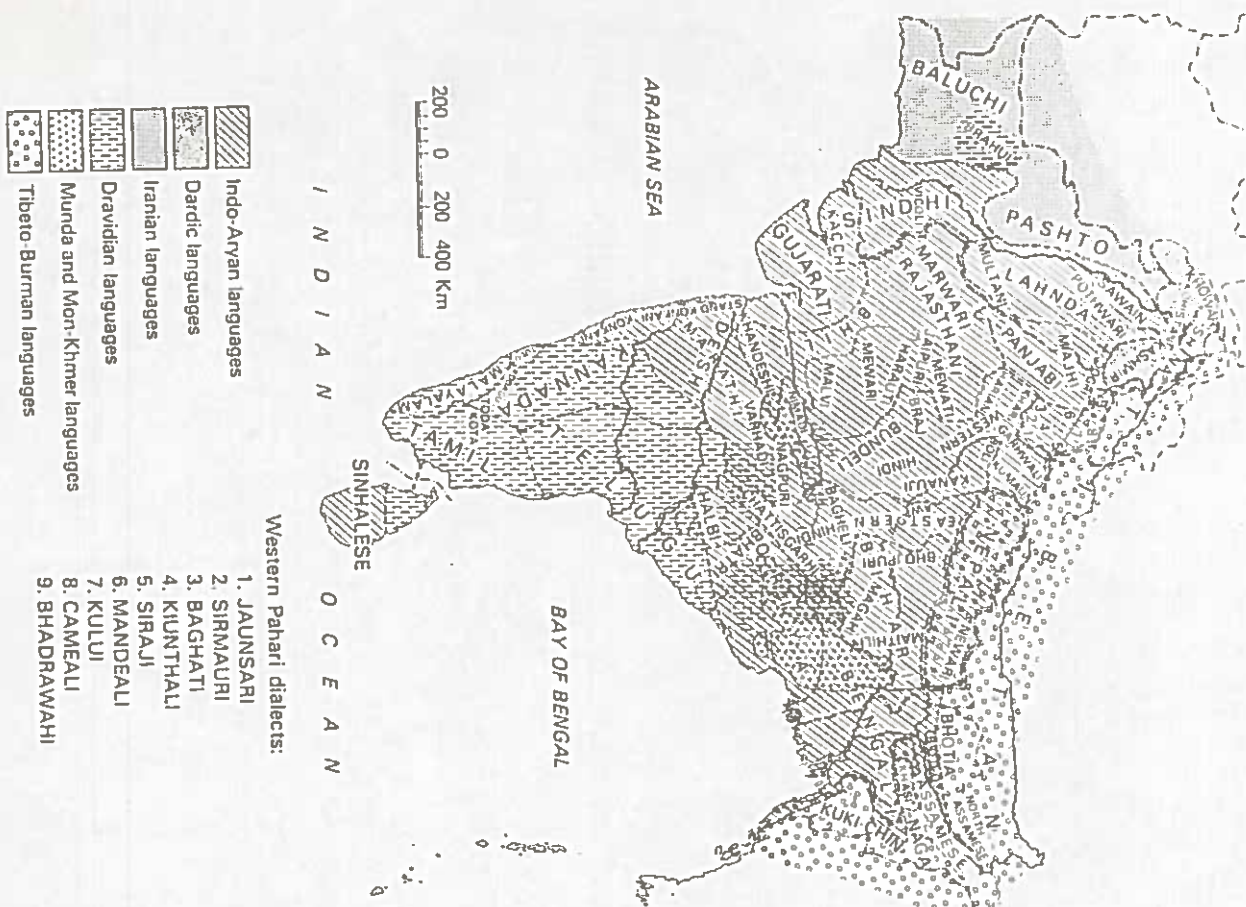
Frolova, V.A., 'Beludzhskii yazyk'. Moscow, 1960.

Gilbertson, G.W., 'The Balochi Language. A Grammar and Manual'. Hertford, 1923.

Lorimer, D.L.R., 'Pashtu'. Pt I, 'Syntax of Colloquial Pashtu'. Oxford, 1915.

Lorimer, J., 'Grammar and Vocabulary of Waziri Pashto'. Calcutta, 1902.

Trumpf, E., 'Grammar of the Pashto or the Language of the Afghans'. London-Tübingen, 1873.



MAP 2 The Dravidian languages of Central India and the Munda